

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 149147
ORIGIN PM-05

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DRAFTED BY PM/DCA:MARIETTI:ILB
APPROVED BY PM/DCA - MR. PALMER
IO: AMB. LEONARD
ACDA: MR. YARMOLINSKY
EA/RA: PCLEVELAND (SUBS)
EUR/RPM: LBRECKON (SUBS)
NEA: NVELIOTES

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 149147

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES

1. AT JUNE 12 PRESS BRIEFING, THE SECRETARY READ THE
FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

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"AFTER REVIEWING THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE DISCUSSIONS
IN THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT,
AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR PRINCIPAL ALLIES, AND ON
THE BASIS OF STUDIES MADE IN PREPARATION FOR THE SPECIAL
SESSION, THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO ELABORATE THE U.S.
POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF SECURITY ASSURANCES. HIS
OBJECTIVE IS TO ENCOURAGE SUPPORT FOR HALTING THE SPREAD

OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TO INCREASE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY, AND TO CREATE A MORE POSITIVE ENVIRONMENT FOR SUCCESS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION. TO THIS END, THE PRESIDENT DECLARES:

"THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE PARTY TO THE NPT OR ANY COMPARABLE INTERNATIONALLY BINDING COMMITMENT NOT TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF AN ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES, ITS TERRITORIES OR ARMED FORCES, OR ITS ALLIES, BY SUCH A STATE ALLIED TO A

NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE, OR ASSOCIATED WITH A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE IN CARRYING OUT OR SUSTAINING THE ATTACK."

IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW THAT THIS FORMULATION PRESERVES OUR SECURITY COMMITMENTS AND ADVANCES OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY AS WELL AS ENHANCES THE PROSPECT FOR MORE EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT."

2. FOLLOWING Q'S AND A'S WERE PREPARED FOR "BACKGROUND BRIEFING" HELD AFTER THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT. POSTS MAY DRAW ON THEM AS REQUIRED.

Q. 1. WHAT IS DIFFERENT ABOUT THIS STATEMENT? HOW DOES IT GO BEYOND WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SAID EARLIER?
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A. IN OCTOBER 1977, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID AT THE UNGA THAT THE U.S. WOULD ONLY USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN DEFENSE OF ITSELF AND ITS ALLIES. HIS SPECIFIC WORDS WERE:

"IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE RELIANCE OF NATIONS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, I HEREBY SOLEMNLY DECLARE ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES THAT WE WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS EXCEPT IN SELF-DEFENSE; THAT IS, IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF AN ACTUAL NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES, OUR TERRITORIES, OR ARMED FORCES, OR SUCH AN ATTACK ON OUR ALLIES."

MANY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES FELT THAT THIS STATEMENT DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH IN PROVIDING ASSURANCES THAT THEY WOULD NOT NEED TO FEAR THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS MIGHT BE USED AGAINST THEM. IN RESPONSE THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO TAKE THIS NEXT STEP IN PROVIDING MORE EXTENSIVE ASSURANCES TO THOSE STATES WHICH ARE GIVING UP THE OPTION OF ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE FEELS THAT THIS STEP IS IMPORTANT IN TERMS OF ADVANCING OUR NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES.

Q. 2. WHAT IS MEANT BY A "COMPARABLE INTERNATIONALLY BINDING COMMITMENT?"

A. WE WOULD NATURALLY NEED TO LOOK AT EACH SITUATION AND DECIDE IF, IN OUR VIEW, A STATE HAS EFFECTIVELY AND REALISTICALLY COMMITTED ITSELF NOT TO POSSESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE BEST WAY TO DO THIS IS BY BECOMING A PARTY TO THE NPT, BUT WE DO NOT WISH TO EXCLUDE OTHER FORMS OF COMMITMENT, SUCH AS THE TREATY OF TLATELOCO.

Q. 3. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE PHRASE "A STATE ALLIED TO A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE"?

A. WHILE I AM NOT ATTEMPTING TO PROVIDE AN EXHAUSTIVE UNCLASSIFIED

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LIST, IT IS CLEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT AND NORTH KOREA ARE ALLIED TO A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE.

Q. 4. WHAT IS MEANT BY THE PHRASE "ASSOCIATED WITH A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE IN CARRYING OUT OR SUSTAINING THE ATTACK"?

A. WE WILL NEED TO REACH A JUDGMENT ON THE BASIS OF EACH PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCE. HOWEVER, THIS PHRASE RECOGNIZES THE FACT THAT AGGRESSION BY A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE MIGHT BE SUPPORTED BY A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE, EVEN WITHOUT AN ALLIANCE.

Q. 5. HAS THE U.S. CONSULTED WITH ITS ALLIES CONCERNING THIS DECISION?

A. WE HAVE CONSULTED WITH OUR ALLIES AND NO ONE HAS EXPRESSED DIFFICULTIES WITH THE U.S. MAKING THIS TYPE OF SECURITY ASSURANCE. THE PRESIDENT'S FORMULATION IS SPECIFICALLY WORDED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR NEED TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO MEET OUR SECURITY COMMITMENTS TO OUR ALLIES.

Q. 6. DOES THIS AFFECT THE COMMENTS WE HAVE GIVEN THE LATIN AMERICAN STATES UNDER THE TREATY OF TLATELOCO?

A. IT REINFORCES THEM.

Q. 7. DOES THIS MEAN THAT WE CAN STILL USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO MEET OUR NATO COMMITMENTS?

A. YES, OUR COMMITMENTS TO OUR NATO ALLIES AND NATO UNCLASSIFIED

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DEFENSE STRATEGY REMAIN UNCHANGED.

Q. 8. WHAT ABOUT KOREA?

A. SAME AS ABOVE.

Q. 9. IS IRAN CONSIDERED AN ALLY UNDER THIS STATEMENT?

A. THE 1959 AGREEMENT BETWEEN IRAN AND THE UNITED STATES STATES THAT: "IN CASE OF AGGRESSION AGAINST IRAN, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WILL TAKE SUCH APPROPRIATE ACTION, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMED FORCES, AS MAY BE MUTUALLY AGREED UPON AND AS

IS ENVISAGED IN THE JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN AT ITS REQUEST."

Q. 10. DOES THIS STATEMENT AFFECT OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL AND, IF SO, HOW?

A. THIS IS A RESTATEMENT AND ELABORATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 1977. NEITHER STATEMENT SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS HAVING ANY EFFECT ON OUR FIRM COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF ISRAEL. IN BRIEF, THERE IS NO CHANGE IN OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

Q. 11. WOULDN'T THIS NEW FORMULATION PREVENT THE U.S. FROM USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS IN THE COURSE OF AN ATTACK WERE ABOUT TO OVERWHELM HER?

A. IT HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE POLICY OF THE U.S. TO ENSURE THAT ISRAEL'S MARGIN OF MILITARY SAFETY AGAINST ANY COMBINATION OF THREATS REMAINS INTACT. THE U.S.
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COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL IS UNEQUIVOCAL AND IS NOT AFFECTED BY THIS DECISION.

Q. 12. WOULD ISRAEL BE CONSIDERED AN ALLY UNDER THIS FORMULA?

A. NOTHING IN THIS STATEMENT WOULD AFFECT OUR FIRM

COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY.

Q. 13. AREN'T WE ENCOURAGING ISRAEL TO DEVELOP A NUCLEAR ARSENAL BY MAKING STATEMENTS SUCH AS THIS?

A. THE ANSWER IS NO, BECAUSE OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL REMAINS UNCHANGED.

Q. 14. WHAT ARE THE VIEWS OF OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES?

A. IN HIS RECENT SPEECH TO THE SPECIAL SESSION, PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN EXPRESSED BRITAIN'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR MAKING THIS TYPE OF SECURITY ASSURANCE. THE FRENCH HAVE ALSO STATED THAT APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES SHOULD BE OFFERED. AT THE SPECIAL SESSION A GROUP OF WESTERN STATES, INCLUDING SEVERAL NATO ALLIES AND JAPAN HAVE CALLED ON THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES TO OFFER APPROPRIATE SECURITY ASSURANCES TO NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES.

THE SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN AN ASSURANCE TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES WHICH HAVE RENOUNCED ACQUISITION OF SUCH WEAPONS AND WHICH DO NOT HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORY.

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3. PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT, DEPARTMENT INFORMED UK, FRG, FRENCH, ITALIAN, JAPANESE, CANADIAN, ROK, INDIAN EMBASSIES OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. VANCE

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DRAFTED BY: S/S-O: TGMARTIN

APPROVED BY: S/S-O: TGMARTIN

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 149147 ACTION USNATO INFO
ALL NATO CAPITALS TOKYO SEOUL NEW DELHI TEL AVIV
USUN NEW YORK MOSCOW PEKING JUN 12.

QUOTE: UNCLAS STATE 149147

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Review Date: 29 mar 2005
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Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
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SAS ID: 2384066
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES
TAGS: PARM, US
To: USNATO
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7c3dd18a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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